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Chairman: Mr. Milko TARABANOV (Bulgaria).

AGENDA ITEM 34 (*continued*)

Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security: report of the Secretary-General (A/8431 and Add.1-5, A/C.1/1015, A/C.1/L.566, 567, 573 and 577)

1. Mr. ROUAMBA (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): Since my delegation has not spoken in the all too lengthy debate that our Committee has devoted to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, I thought that it would be proper for me at this time to explain my vote on the draft resolutions before us. But before I do so, I should like to fulfil a pleasant duty by conveying to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the officers of our Committee my congratulations for the dynamic way in which you have been conducting our debates. I realize that some of these draft resolutions have not yet been submitted officially. At the same time, I am somewhat bewildered. It is because the matter was considered extremely important that last year we devoted to it lengthy, detailed, complex debates and negotiations in order to permit us to hear a wide gamut of opinions. My delegation considered, and still considers, resolution 2734 (XXV) adopted 16 December last, as a solemn re-

minder to all States to apply or to be guided by the provisions of the Charter in their bilateral relations.

2. What can we add to the broad measure of agreement that has made it possible to adopt resolution 2734 (XXV) with the unanimous support of 106 countries, with the exception of South Africa and Portugal? The report of the Secretary-General tells us that: "One of the main prerequisites for the strengthening of international security is that all States shall live up to the principles of the Charter and shall constantly rededicate themselves to the standards of international morality and behaviour set out in the Charter." [A/8431, para. 7.] It is not possible to find a more clear and perspicacious summary of the situation than this recommendation of the Secretary-General. However, the proposals made to strengthen the Charter have still not formally assumed the shape of a specific agenda item.

3. My delegation is even more bewildered when it analyses the answers that a number of Member States have sent to the Secretary-General under resolution 2734 (XXV) [*see A/8431 and Add.1-5*]. Compare them with the statements made by these same Member States last year and you will not find any fundamental difference. They all say that they continue to observe the principles stated in the resolution because these principles flow from the Charter and the Charter is the bible as far as their foreign policy is concerned. They all tell us that they have signed or ratified treaties, participated in conferences, improved their bilateral relations, and they all restate points which have been debated for 25 years by emphasizing this one or that one. Where, then, is the collective examination of conscience that of necessity should have followed upon this Declaration? Everyone apparently has a clear conscience, and some are so satisfied that they throw the blame on others. In brief, they smugly and with insouciance pat themselves on the back and shower categorical and explicit anathemas on their neighbours. Instead of bringing us together in a common search for stability and peace, the Declaration seems to have opened up the way for barely-concealed charges.

4. Finally, my delegation is bewildered by the fact that, paradoxically, the non-member States outside the United Nations have engaged in significant efforts to implement the Charter of which resolution 2734 (XXV) is only an emanation—20 paragraphs out of 27 in the Declaration mention the Charter—and I am thinking in particular of Germany.

5. And here, therefore, we find ourselves presented with other draft resolutions asking States to do what other States want and do not do. At this stage other draft resolutions of a recriminatory and biased nature are not likely to produce the concerted, political will needed to

bring about or strengthen a *détente*. At this stage, such draft resolutions seem to me partial, one-sided and ineffective. In addition, it would be illusory, unless we believe in the constructive power of repetition, to extract from a balanced declaration certain paragraphs and to strengthen them by converting them into resolutions. If the Declaration and the Charter since 16 December last have not been sufficient antidote to the poison of discord and international hate which, unfortunately, we must bear witness to, no other condemnation will change the way things are.

6. Moreover, nothing positive is mentioned; nothing on the economic matters dealt with in paragraphs 19, 20, 21 and 25 of resolution 2734 (XXV), which constitutes the keystone, as far as my delegation is concerned, of any effort to strengthen international security.

7. To reaffirm the same statements without definite and effective means will unfortunately change nothing in the actual or potential insecurity in which we live.

8. That is why my delegation would not, at this stage, be inclined to see the absolute necessity of adopting still more resolutions, particularly when they are likely to introduce a patent imbalance in resolution 2734 (XXV), which we still fully support. Any attempt to sweeten the pill will, we believe, succeed only in weakening the resolution. That is why my delegation has looked at the various draft resolutions, taking into account the points I have just made and three other major components which we believe go to make up a significant step towards the application of resolution 2734 (XXV). First, there is a matching set of proposals on practical ways of setting up a mechanism for evaluation and control, the primary purpose of which would be to follow the application of proposals, suggestions and recommendations contained in resolution 2734 (XXV). Secondly, an analytical study of what each group has done or has been able to do by itself and in particular a review of the practical difficulties that they have encountered in their efforts to create conditions for a real relaxation of tension which is the necessary intermediate step towards *entente* and then peace. We note that the boldest steps have been taken and continue to be taken at the level of individual sovereign States and that the desire for a more united world is blocked by selfishness from various quarters. Hence the major problems are settled outside of the United Nations because some of those concerned do not hesitate to discredit the arithmetical majorities which threaten to force them to play the fair game of democracy. The only explanation given is always the political expediency of the great Powers. Finally, there is the concrete manifestation of a political will in the form of a commitment to assist the poor countries—and I am thinking of Africa in particular—which unfortunately continue, due to the great weaknesses of our infrastructure, to be the unwilling victims of upheavals created by the more developed countries.

9. My delegation is afraid therefore that from a long-range document which is to be implemented by stages—and I refer to this resolution 2734 (XXV)—our Committee will finish up by abstracting only some parts which set forth solely the concerns of each group of countries according to their ideological, regional affinities. By thus disturbing the already fragile balance of the text adopted last year, we run

the risk of paying the price too heavily and too soon for our otherwise laudable quest for unanimity. We would not be responding to the wish expressed by the Secretary-General in his report when he said: "The time has come to agree on practical means of strengthening international security." [A/8431, para. 3.] These practical means appear to be conceived at the present stage on a regional or ideological basis which polarizes and therefore divides opinions.

10. None the less, the draft resolutions which so far have been put before us have so many points in common that it is perhaps not too late to try to reconcile them by judicious pruning. It does not appear to my delegation really essential to restate what we already stated last year, and stated more cogently, since at that time we did it unanimously. Hence, my delegation hopes that these views will be of such a nature as to bring together the authors of the various drafts to once again seek a compromise text.

AGENDA ITEMS 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 AND 98 (continued)

General and complete disarmament: report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (A/8328, A/8337, A/8457)

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Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security: report of the Secretary-General (A/8469)

**Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace
(A/8492 and Add.1)**

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

11. Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland): The present situation in the field of armaments must lead us to very disturbing conclusions. The spiralling arms race, the emergence of new, more sophisticated types of weapons and the continued stockpiling of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction have reached a level far surpassing the minimum capability of mutual annihilation. At this stage any advantage in weapons of mass destruction, quantitative

or qualitative, becomes irrelevant to the security of those who possess them. That is why the necessity of effective disarmament measures and the urgency of accelerating joint efforts in order to slow down, halt and reverse the uncontrolled arms race and ever-growing military expenditures are now more necessary and evident than ever before.

12. The United Nations has recorded many declarations recognizing that disarmament is the basic prerequisite of real security. No one questions the close relationship between security and disarmament, or—to put it the other way—between insecurity and armaments. The armaments race is one of the main factors aggravating international tensions since it deepens distrust among nations and contributes to deterioration of international relations. A further consequence of the arms race is that it increases the danger of military conflicts entailing grave risk of world-wide conflagration. Those dangers grow parallel to the rapid and extensive improvements in weapons technology and—if one may use such a word in this context—to the perfection of the destructive power of armaments. All this increases the threat to world security, precarious as it is.

13. In the world of today when interdependence of nations, regardless of their geopolitical situation, is an irreversible phenomenon, negative developments in the relations among States with highly advanced military capabilities affect the interests of all States and have a damaging influence on their economic and social growth.

14. The ceaseless efforts of an overwhelming majority of States to solve the problem of the arms race through progress towards disarmament are an evident proof of the recognition that disarmament concerns all nations, notwithstanding the special responsibilities of nuclear Powers. The burdens of armaments are being increasingly felt by all States. There is then a growing awareness that armaments are certainly among the most important factors impeding speedy progress in the field of economic and social development, as well as in the broadening of international co-operation.

15. Against this rather gloomy background, indications emerge which may give ground for a more optimistic vision of the future. As was pointed out in the course of the general debate in the Assembly, the world is witnessing a number of developments which can reinforce the confidence of nations in the possibility of attaining much more substantial results in the field of disarmament. The results achieved so far in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) between the Soviet Union and the United States of America are encouraging and the prospects for further progress seem to be promising. This is indeed a welcome sign.

16. Then, as a result of progress in the normalization of relations in Europe, new prospects have emerged for the intensification of efforts for the implementation on that continent of partial measures of disarmament on a regional basis. In the opinion of my delegation, progress in Europe will have an impact far beyond that part of the world. Further, in the course of the last few months a number of important disarmament proposals have been advanced by the USSR. Those proposals fully correspond to the present necessities and expectations. They cover the essential

aspects of effective disarmament, both on a world-wide and on a regional scale, and constitute an important disarmament programme which, if accepted and implemented, would bring the world closer to general and complete disarmament.

17. We attach particular significance to the proposal on the convening of a conference of the five nuclear Powers [A/8328] and we want to believe that the negative stand of certain nuclear Powers on that question is not the expression of their final position. We also reiterate our support for the Soviet proposal to convene a world disarmament conference which could open new prospects for tangible progress in disarmament.

18. Last but not least, the conclusion in recent years of several international agreements on collateral measures of non-armament or disarmament has paved the way to further efforts along these lines.

19. It is therefore imperative, in the light of the factors which I have just mentioned, that disarmament negotiations do not fall behind the present positive trends in international relations.

20. I have tried to show briefly why the Polish delegation considers that good possibilities have appeared for the opening of a new chapter in disarmament negotiations, provided that goodwill and a constructive approach take an upper hand over the traditional mistrust and that the concept of security through more armaments is abandoned once and for all. Let us hope that the world community will be spared a repetition of the mistakes of the past when many an opportunity was wasted due to selfish political interests.

21. With those general considerations in mind, the Polish delegation would like to submit its comments on the activities and tasks of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. The Polish delegation considers that the work accomplished by the Committee on Disarmament during the past year, as reflected in its report to the General Assembly [A/8457], deserves the appreciation of the First Committee. My delegation is also of the opinion that the procedural arrangements and the manner of functioning of the Committee on Disarmament are satisfactory. There may be divergent opinions both as to the pace and the substance of its work; let us, however, pass sound and realistic judgement when drawing up a balance-sheet between expectations and today's political realities.

22. My delegation thinks that the Committee on Disarmament took the right approach in devoting the bulk of its time and effort in the period under review to the problem of chemical and bacteriological weapons and to the question of underground nuclear tests. As a result of intensive negotiations the Committee has submitted, for the consideration and approval of the General Assembly, a draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction [*ibid.*, annex A].

23. From the very beginning of negotiations on the elimination of chemical and bacteriological weapons

Poland, like the overwhelming majority of the States members of the Committee on Disarmament, and, indeed, of the States Members of the United Nations, has firmly advocated that negotiations should proceed from the recognized principle that those two types of weapons belong to the same category and that they should be dealt with jointly and prohibited simultaneously. This approach is reflected in the draft convention submitted by Poland and other socialist States to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session and again last year.¹

24. Unfortunately, as we all know, due to the intransigent attitude of some Western Powers the Committee on Disarmament was not able to act along those lines and the negotiations faced a serious deadlock. It therefore became imperative to avoid the risk of an impasse so as to enable the Committee to achieve some progress, even if only partial. That was why the socialist States members of the Committee on Disarmament came forward with a compromise solution, which integrates the principle of close relationship between chemical and bacteriological weapons and the principle of subsequent interrelated measures which should lead to a final, comprehensive solution. The draft convention submitted by the Committee on Disarmament for the approval of this Committee and the General Assembly reaffirms this basic stand. Both the preamble and article IX recognize the importance and the urgency of the elimination of chemical weapons and call upon the States parties to continue negotiations in good faith to achieve that goal.

25. Reflecting the general consensus, the draft convention stresses the important significance of the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare signed at Geneva in 1925;² calls for universal and strict compliance with its provisions; and recalls United Nations resolutions condemning actions contrary to the Protocol. It also takes due account of the various constructive suggestions submitted by various delegations and reflected, *inter alia*, in the provisions dealing with the scope of prohibitive measures which include toxins and means of delivery; co-operation in the use of bacteriological agents and toxins for peaceful purposes; and verification procedures which combine national and international measures.

26. I should like to recall in this connexion that in the Committee on Disarmament the delegations of Hungary, Mongolia and Poland submitted a draft Security Council resolution [*ibid.*, annex C, sect. 21] which provides for the Security Council's readiness to consider immediately any complaints lodged under the convention, take all necessary measures for the investigation of a complaint and to inform the States parties of the result of the investigation.

27. The draft convention, supplemented by the draft resolution of the above-mentioned three socialist States, thus provides for the use of the most appropriate United Nations organ which has the power to undertake necessary

investigations and to take appropriate decisions. We hope that the draft resolution, which complements the provisions of article VI of the draft convention, will be unanimously adopted in due course by the Security Council.

28. Furthermore, I should like to draw the attention of this Committee to the stipulation contained in article XII, providing for a review conference which would give States parties an opportunity to see how the convention operates, with a view to assuring that the purposes and the provisions of the convention, including the provisions concerning chemical weapons, are being achieved.

29. In view of the singular and unprecedented significance of the draft convention, which is the first tangible and real disarmament measure providing for the elimination of one of several types of weapons of mass destruction, and in view of the acknowledged close interdependence between that measure and further steps towards the elimination of chemical weapons, the Polish delegation hopes that this Committee will unanimously support and commend the draft convention and that it will be put up for signature and ratification without delay, thus opening the way for the widest possible adherence to it.

30. The Polish delegation is of the opinion that the question of the elimination of chemical weapons should be accorded the highest priority in the future work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and that in the coming year the Conference should concentrate primarily on the subject. We also strongly believe that, pending conclusion of negotiations on chemical weapons, all States should refrain from any acts which might cast doubts on their declared determination to reach agreement on the elimination of chemical weapons or which might infringe the Geneva Protocol of 1925. In the opinion of my delegation, the Assembly should formally request the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to continue its consideration of the problem of chemical methods of warfare with a view to reaching an early agreement, possibly in the form of a draft convention, on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their elimination from the arsenals of all States. It is with this in mind that the Polish delegation, with the co-operation and support of a large number of other delegations, is preparing a relevant draft resolution for consideration and adoption by this Committee. We hope to put the draft resolution before the Committee very soon.

31. In our view, the draft resolution should meet the requirement set forth in article IX of the draft convention on bacteriological weapons concerning the continuation of negotiations with a view to reaching early agreement on effective measures for the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and for their destruction. In its preambular part it might recall the resolutions on chemical and bacteriological weapons adopted at previous sessions of the General Assembly, express conviction that the convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction is an important step towards the early achievement of similar agreement on chemical weapons, and note that the convention actually contains an affirmation of the

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda items 29, 30, 31 and 94, document A/7655; and *ibid.*, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes, agenda items 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 93 and 94, document A/8136.

² League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV, 1929, No. 2138.

recognized objective of effective prohibition of chemical weapons and an undertaking to continue negotiations in good faith with a view to reaching early agreement to that effect. The draft resolution might also recall that the General Assembly had repeatedly condemned all actions contrary to the principles and objectives of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and note that the convention on bacteriological weapons made provision for the parties to reaffirm their adherence to the principles and objectives of that Protocol and called upon all States to comply strictly with them. In its operative part the draft resolution should embody the principal objectives of the resolution—first of all, to request that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament continue its consideration of the problem of chemical methods of warfare, with a view to reaching early agreement on effective measures for the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and for their elimination from the arsenals of all States. The draft resolution might then recommend that in its further work on this problem the Committee on Disarmament should take into consideration the views on the question of the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons expressed in the Committee itself and in the Assembly. Reference could be made, for example, to the memorandum of the 12 non-aligned States members of the Committee on Disarmament of 28 September 1971 [*ibid.*, sect. 33] and to other propositions, suggestions and working papers. In our view, the resolution should contain a special paragraph urging Governments to take all steps to contribute to a successful outcome of the negotiations by the Committee on Disarmament. It is important in this context that States should refrain from any action which might hamper or retard the achievement of an agreement on the elimination of chemical weapons. We also think that the draft resolution should call anew for the strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and invite all States that have not already done so to accede to or ratify the Geneva Protocol. Finally, the draft resolution should provide for a report by the Committee on Disarmament on the results achieved to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session.

32. The draft resolution would thus sum up the progress in the discussions on the question of the elimination of chemical weapons achieved so far, while providing a new stimulus for further efforts and better results in the future. We think that the adoption of such a resolution would create favourable conditions for effective negotiations and for the solution of all aspects of the elimination of chemical weapons. This would fill the existing gap in the achievement of a comprehensive elimination of both bacteriological and chemical weapons and would give true meaning to the obligations set forth in the Geneva Protocol. The draft resolution should reflect the principle that the convention on bacteriological weapons is not an end in itself but only the first part of a comprehensive solution.

33. The Polish delegation hopes that the draft resolution, when presented, will meet with unanimous support in this Committee. Its adoption will be a logical complementary step after the approval of the draft convention on bacteriological weapons.

34. The Polish delegation is strongly convinced that, in order to create the proper conditions to facilitate negotia-

tions and the achievement of an agreement on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons, all States should refrain from activities contrary to that aim. We have in mind, in particular, the need to slow down the development and production of chemical weapons and, above all, the prevention of their use in any form.

35. Apart from the problem of chemical and bacteriological weapons, the Committee on Disarmament devoted considerable attention to the equally important problems of nuclear disarmament, particularly the question of an underground test ban treaty. The urgency of such a treaty is evident to all of us: it follows from previous collateral measures and from the understanding that a comprehensive test ban would go a long way towards stopping the nuclear arms race and would free humanity from the dangers of further radio-active contamination of the environment. Careful consideration of the discussions in the Committee on Disarmament on the subject shows that not all the members of the Committee approach this problem from the correct standpoint. Insistence on detailed technical aspects of verification or on interim solutions creates the risk of missing the crux of the matter. Indeed, one has an uneasy feeling that this is a convenient way of avoiding a political decision in this matter. The present scientific and technical level of seismology guarantees adequate detection and identification of underground phenomena on the basis of national means of verification. As we say, at this stage only a political decision is required. Because of its growing importance, this problem, as distinct from that of chemical weapons, should be considered as a matter of high priority in the future work of the Committee on Disarmament.

36. Another question on the agenda of the Geneva Disarmament Committee relates to the fulfilment of obligations deriving from article V of the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof [*resolution 2660 (XXV), annex*]. I refer to the necessity to ensure total demilitarization of this vast environment which, as we all agree, should be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes. I therefore wish to reiterate Poland's proposal, made in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in June 1970 and in this Committee a year ago, that this problem should be kept on the agenda of the Disarmament Committee and that an agreement on the demilitarization of the sea-bed and ocean floor should be concluded before further expansion of military technology makes the problem much more complicated, technically and politically.

37. However important the problems I have referred to may be, we cannot lose sight of our primary and ultimate objective, that is, the attainment of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. It is to be regretted that no radical solutions have yet been found and that many past proposals of the socialist States were not given the attention they deserved. This does not affect, however, our determination to continue to explore new possibilities and to seek new solutions.

38. The Polish delegation, like many others, is strongly convinced that because of the nature of weapons of mass destruction the highest priority should be continuously given to the different aspects of nuclear disarmament. A logical follow-up to what might be called pre-emptive

measures already adopted in the nuclear field that limit the threats inherent in nuclear weapons would be an agreement on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. Such a step would render meaningless the possession of such weapons and of the means of their delivery, thus facilitating the more radical solutions leading to their total elimination.

39. In view of the complexity, both political and technical, of general and complete disarmament, the need arises for careful selection of priorities resulting from the actual state of the armaments race and the general international situation. It is also an absolute necessity that disarmament measures, at any level, be strictly and fully adhered to by all States, especially those which, because of their military potential, bear the greatest responsibilities.

40. Both the existing realities and positive past experiences convince us that no efforts should be spared in the search for collateral measures, separate or interrelated, whether aimed at preventing or at reducing armaments. Any measure, comprehensive or partial, global or regional, which promises prospects for agreement, should be considered parallel to negotiations on general and complete disarmament. Such measures are, in our view, the most effective means for the gradual implementation of the objectives of general and complete disarmament. Because of their interdependence, partial or regional measures of disarmament influence the solution of comprehensive problems in the same way as progress in the negotiations on general and complete disarmament creates a greater degree of security on a regional scale.

41. We are gratified that the importance of regional disarmament solutions as an instrument of regional security is being generally recognized and that the idea of nuclear-free zones, first advanced by Poland, is already being implemented in some parts of the world.

42. While searching for new solutions, we should consolidate the existing agreements on collateral measures by their full and universal implementation as well as by the adoption of measures of a complementary nature and by speeding up negotiations on problems which are ripe for solution. The agreements already concluded should become universally binding rules of international law and all States should commit themselves to adopt necessary measures with a view to facilitating further negotiations, while refraining from actions that would hamper such negotiations. Let me quote, in this respect, the relevant words from the introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization:

“... it is not only important that intensive and uninterrupted work proceed in the field of disarmament; it is also important that all the existing treaties should be strengthened. I should like to appeal for universal adherence to and the full implementation of all the existing treaties. The strengthening of these treaties and their becoming accepted standards of international law will not only ensure that they will be observed and have continuing validity, but will also serve to make additional agreements more readily attainable and acceptable. The full implementation of each agreement will have a synergetic effect on the over-all field of disarmament.”³

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 1A*, para. 202.

43. I shall give just a few examples of the approach I have just outlined. I would refer first to the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water signed in Moscow in 1963.⁴ We think that this Treaty should be adhered to by all the nuclear States and should be complemented by an agreement on the prohibition of underground nuclear tests. I should also like to mention the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*, *annex*], which is rightly considered as the most far-reaching measure so far achieved. Lack of universal adherence to this Treaty seriously jeopardizes prospects for further progress in nuclear disarmament. It is, therefore, a matter of grave concern that certain States, including those with advanced nuclear technology, have not yet signed or ratified the Treaty, thus obstructing its full implementation. We again call upon those States for the earliest possible adherence to the Treaty. I should like to emphasize that for us, in Poland, the attitude towards the implementation of the non-proliferation Treaty is an essential touchstone of the sincerity of approach of European States to the question of security and disarmament in Europe.

44. As I pointed out in this Committee last year, disarmament negotiations would be facilitated by the creation of a definite pattern wherein each successive disarmament measure resolving a concrete problem would serve to reinforce the effectiveness of preceding measures and lay the groundwork for further agreements. Accordingly, the Moscow Treaty of 1963 should, as I have already mentioned, be followed by the banning of underground nuclear weapon tests; the non-proliferation Treaty by more substantial steps in nuclear disarmament so as to bring a halt to vertical proliferation and, eventually, the total elimination of nuclear weapons; the denuclearization of the sea-bed and ocean floor by full demilitarization; and the elimination of bacteriological weapons by the urgent and effective elimination of chemical weapons.

45. My delegation considers that, apart from the nuclear disarmament measures, such as the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, prohibition of their development and production and the reduction and total elimination of their stockpiles, more attention should also be devoted to non-nuclear disarmament measures, such as the freezing and reduction of military expenditures, the reduction of armed forces and armaments in specified regions, the dismantling of foreign military bases and others. We hope that the proposed world disarmament conference, as well as negotiations on a regional basis, will add momentum to the realization of these aims.

46. I have tried to present our evaluation of the actual state of disarmament negotiations as well as some proposals and views on the immediate and future tasks. Further progress in disarmament, partial or comprehensive, will help defuse the risk of armed conflicts, strengthen mutual confidence and promote the achievement of more substantial solutions, thereby strengthening security and lessening the heavy burdens caused by the arms build-up, as was so convincingly demonstrated in the report of the Secretary-General on the economic and social consequences of the armaments race and of military expenditures, contained in

⁴ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480 (1963), No. 6964.

document A/8469. The Polish delegation wishes to express its appreciation for the work done by the Secretary-General with the assistance of consultant experts, including a Polish one. We hope that the report will be a mobilizing factor in speeding up negotiations on disarmament and in stimulating deeper studies of some important aspects which, in our opinion, were not sufficiently elaborated in the report, such as factors causing the armaments race, the political and social consequences of the armaments race and its negative effects on many aspects of international co-operation.

47. The problem of disarmament becomes increasingly an overriding concern of the world community, including the United Nations. The approach to this problem is a crucial test in the conduct of international relations. Like the liquidation of the existing hotbeds of war and aggression, of military conflicts, of the remnants of colonialism, and of *apartheid* and racialism, disarmament remains one of the fundamental tasks of the United Nations in ensuring peace and security in the world. Progress in disarmament will open new prospects for international co-operation. The conversion to peaceful purposes of the material and human resources released by disarmament would enhance development programmes and the possibilities of international assistance to less developed countries. The tasks before us, however, require doing away with the traditional and false concepts espoused by military-industrial complexes in advanced capitalist countries that military production is an inherent component of the economy as a whole and that military technology is the main stimulus for scientific and technological advancement.

48. As the report on the consequences of the arms race rightly points out, all countries, regardless of their size or their stage of development, share the responsibility for

taking steps which will help achieve the goal of general and complete disarmament.

49. The greater the military potential of a State, the greater its responsibilities and obligations in the field of disarmament. The joint and active contribution of all States, within or outside the framework of the United Nations, remains, however, the basic condition for effective disarmament which would guarantee the security of all States and create conditions to ensure that the precarious military balance based on deterrence would be replaced by a security balance based on peace and mutual trust. The United Nations has a very important role to play in those endeavours.

50. Poland is determined to continue to play an active role in disarmament undertakings and to take part in constructive initiatives. Our determination stems not only from our historical experience but, first and foremost, from the ideological principles which guide the policies of Poland as a socialist State. We are vitally interested in lessening the burdens of armaments in order to assure the best possible conditions for peaceful construction and development of our society and for increasing the standard of living of our people. These principles and objectives have found their new and full expression in the policies and practical activities of the present political leadership of my country.

51. In conclusion, let me express the conviction that our deliberations, held in the spirit of confidence and mutual understanding, will contribute substantially towards further progress in disarmament negotiations.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.